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training begins, children are sometimes spanked. More occasion arises for spanking during and after weaning and after the birth of another sibling. Most parents believe it is important to punish a child when young, and some children receive their first severe beatings at three or four years of age.

For example, I saw a three-year-old boy beaten with a switch by his father. The boy had been annoying the father while he was cleaning beans. When the father scolded the boy sharply, he began to cry. Because the boy refused to stop crying, the father went over to a bush, tore off a long thin switch and beat him hard. The mother, who was also cleaning beans, paid no attention. The boy did not go to the mother, but ran off to the corral where he sobbed quietly for a long time. Beatings of this sort are rare before five years of age.

Fathers usually punish with a beating, using a stick or a rope. Mothers also sometimes do this, but more often they hit with their hands, or they may slap, pinch, kick, shake, or even throw a stone or two at the offending child. Sharp scolding, calling names, not being allowed to play, being put to work at something unpleasant, and being put out of the house and denied food are other ways of punishing.

In the themes entitled, "My Worst Punishment," written for us by children in the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades in school, we learned of several other types of punishment. One boy wrote that he was severely beaten with a rope and then tied up all night by his mother for having grumbled too much. Another was not allowed to lie down and go to sleep when he wanted to. Not being bought new clothes or not being taken to fiestas are considered severe punishments by girls, and both boys and girls mentioned that they did not like to be scolded or shamed before others. Occasionally a boy is punished by having to do work ordinarily done by girls, such as carrying corn to the mill. It is particularly embarrassing for an eleven- or twelve-year-old boy to stand in the long queue of women and girls to wait his turn at the mill. Girls who are incorrigible may not be permitted to leave the house for a week or two.

Both boys and girls are punished for disobedience, for breaking or losing things, for grumbling or rudeness, or for doing things without permission. Girls are more often punished for coming home late from school or from an errand, and for mistreating young brothers and sisters or other children. Punishment for these offenses is usually quite severe. Boys are more often punished in connection with their work of taking care of the animals; they are beaten for playing when they should be watching the animals, for losing animals, or for bringing them home late. Small boys often have difficulty in handling oxen and cows and may be punished for acts they could not avoid. Boys are also often punished at home and at school for absenting themselves from school to go swimming.

Physical punishment still occurs in the school, although there is a law forbidding it. It is much less severe than in the past and consists of slapping, pulling hair or ears, and hitting with a ruler. I saw one teacher instructing her third-grade class with a switch in her hand, which she occasionally used against the legs of some inattentive child. Beatings with a switch are relatively rare and are applied only to

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876 "bad" boys. Other punishments are keeping a child in during the recreation hour; reporting bad behavior to the parents; giving out tasks, such as sweeping the classroom or yard, working in the garden, or writing an assigned sentence one hundred times. One girl was locked up in the henhouse for hitting other children. Parents generally approve of physical punishment in the school, and some think the school is now too lenient. In the past, it was common practice for parents who could not control their children at home to ask the teacher to discipline them. Children who are punished in school rarely tell their parents about it for fear that they will be punished a second time at home. Causes for punishment in school are inattentiveness, not knowing the lesson, fighting, and disobedience.

593 861 Other methods are also used to instill fear in the child. It is common for parents, particularly mothers, to threaten to desert their children, playing on the children's fear of becoming orphans. One mother said that she can get obedience from her children by telling them that she will stop eating and die so that they will have to live with a cruel stepmother. Children are told that if they are naughty they will be carried off by a stranger who will make soap out of them. Any passer-by, and recently the *gringo*, is used to frighten children in this way. In Tepoztlán, where [609] [184] children have occasion to see many tourists and outsiders coming and going, the fear of strangers has worn off, but in the nearby smaller villages children run to hide when an unfamiliar person appears in the streets.

593 861 538 [825] Many mothers and grandmothers tell children stories of owls and coyotes coming out at night to eat bad children and of bats and opossums that drink blood. Children who lie or disobey are told that they will turn into devils and burn in hell. They are told that badness is always punished in some unexpected way, such as being bitten by a mad dog, and that goodness is rewarded with good luck.

[152] [776] The sound of a child crying appears to be a particular source of irritation to adults, especially in men, and children are frequently frightened into silence by threats of punishment. The story of Cahuasohuanton, a spirit who listens outside the walls of the house and imitates the child crying, is told to frighten crying children into silence. The story, translated from the Náhuatl, goes as follows:

[773] Once it happened that a child was crying a great deal, and his parents told him to lie down and go to sleep. He did not want to and sat near the hearth crying. His parents kept telling him to stop and then they fell asleep. After a while they awoke and heard a voice saying, "Cahuasohuanton yo ni concua," or "Cahuasohuanton has eaten him." The parents stood up and lighted a candle and there, near the hearth they saw the child dead, with his abdomen torn open and his intestines out and they knew that Cahuasohuanton had been there.

[776] Cahuasohuanton is a very fear-inspiring figure and children invariably cease crying when told that he is coming.

593 861 522 Frightening children is sometimes done for the amusement of adults. One informant remembered being very frightened as a child when his favorite uncle, after having told some ghost stories, suddenly told the child to run because a ghost was